Mr. M. Sivarama Menon *(Advocate-General):* I second it.

Motion put and carried

Non-Official resolution

Resolution No. 4.

Establishment of Responsible Government (cont.)

***Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan** *(Vadakkancheri):* While the House adjourned yesterday I was on my legs., saying till we reached that day which is generally known as red-letter day in the annals of constitutional reforms in Cochin namely the announcing of the present Diarchical system of administration. That day it was a course of gradual evalution leading on step by step and gradually further and further to the point. It was a welcome announcement which was accepted by the people of the State for what it was worth. It was never accepted as every thing that was wanted but it was accepted for what it was worth and that was appreciated by all the powers that were concerned in the whole matter. I also referred yesterday to the evalution of the scheme by competent authority. The then Diwan stated that he has perfectly satisfied with the step that he took in tendering advise to His Highness to introduce Diarchical system of Government here. Three years later, Sir, there was in reply to the statement made by the Public-representatives of the people the statement made by the father of the constitution, Sir Shanmugham Chetty, it is worth being read:—

"The very scheme of the Cochin constitution was framed in such a way as to make the transition from stage to stage easy and simple without any spectacular announcements. The first step, no doubt, we have to announce with a flourish of trumpets, as it were because it was something new, something redically different to what was existing for ages in Indian States. In one of the sections of the Constitutional Act it is provided that His Highness the Maharaja has got the full power to decide from time to time what subjects can be administered by Ministers nominated by him and as I made it plain on many occasions at the time of the inauguration of the new constitution we selected in the first instance such of the subjects as directly affect the life of the rural population and it was His Highness' desire to see the rural population reacts to the administration of the departments by a popular Minister responsible to the Council. I am also free to say that I am not in the least sorry today at the end of three years for the advice that I tendered to His Highness in the matter of constitutional reforms. Whatever might have been the confusion that has been prevailing else where so far as our State is concerned the faith that I have had in the political acumen and judgment of the people of Cochin has been more than justified".

Then further on he says,—

"It has apprehended at one time that these reforms which were condemned as diarchical reforms would be a failure either because the people of Cochin would refuse to work them or because there such inherent difficulties in the scheme that they would automatically wreck on the rock of deadlocks. But as a result of good will and mutual co-operation between the Minister and the other officers of Government, I think, we have got a record of political advancement and administrative reforms of which we can certainly feel proud".

That was the statement, Sir, when subsequently requests were made to take us further on the same road the position of the Government used to be reference to this statement that I read and then say there is section 8 of the Constitution Act. Therefore our goal is there. Our request was taking us unto that goal". The reply was "goal is there" we could not have it. We were requesting the executive Government to help us in reaching our goal which defined under section 8. Beautifully explained here in the extract that I read before the House. But, of course, in varying forms the substance of the Government position was this, section 8. One Joint Secretary to Government that again referring to this statement—Joint Secretary is laughing, because his name is coming—he stated that it was prerogative of His Highness the Maharaja to give us more. Whoever said it was otherwise we have only the prerogative but fortunately for us the prerogative has been used to the advantage of the people and our complaint is that the prerogative is not commensurate with the provision when the condition of Cochin and the political acumen of the people which endorsed and the co-operative spirit in which even the dirachical system of Government was worked by our Minister and the ministerial party. Next time when the identical subject came up here, of course, there was difference in the wording of the resolution. In certain instances the prayer was more departments may be transferred and at times 2 and at times 3 and there was at least the thing that is required for which we are fighting

*Speech not corrected by the Hon'ble Member.

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namely for full responsible Government. Whatever be the shape of the request, the reply given and the stand of the Government was the same and once when that unfortunate extension of the life of the Council was at the request of the then Members of the Council granted on the petition of 28 Members, elected members, then they got an additional bandle to their stand "they used to say well your request on the extension of the political reforms may be bad. But this Council which was selected by voters going to the polls with the idea that there will be one Minister. Is it justifiable to give you more Ministers than one ? They have asked the voters to sent representatives to work the constitution with a solitary Minister. I am only sorry that the Government had recourse to that as an additional weapon in reply. Then again the period of extension, later when the request continued and luckily we are in a new Council completely different from what it was in the last few years. Now, Sir, later on the request was made that unless something is done by the Government we will be forced to have recourse only to the constitutional method namely, the throwing away of the budget which had to be performed in the Budget Session following. We are again prepared to take the facts that our throwing of the budget although it is a thing which is infructuous because you have got the powers of certification yet it has got a demonstrative value, because of then conditions. We said openly in the Council although we are ready to throw away all the demands and although we are going to exercise our rights and carried unanimously here because we will be putting him in an awkward position because his leaving the State was already announced. That shows we know when to act and when not to act. Then Sir, came the first meeting presided by our present Hon'ble President and we were having a congratulatory motion on the present Maharaja coming to the Gadi. That synchronises that the first meeting you have presided. That opportunity was availed of by the representative of the people by saying that we have got a ruler on the gadi who is there like his prodecessor. I am sure that his seeccessor also having the welfare of the people at heart constitutionaly inclined I must say associated with the public more and more in the administration. We availed ourselves of the opportunity to see that during the days of the administration of the present Maharaja at the earliest opportunity, the advice he has as a Chief Minister, veteran parliamentarian and a tined civilian who had aslo the distribution of acting as a Governor of a Province.

Mr. President: I am sorry to interrupt the Hon'ble Member, He has already spoken for ten minutes now. I am not aware for how long he spoke yesterday afternoon. Imust remind him of the Standing Order prescribing a time limit.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri)* : I may be allowed ten minutes.

Mr. President: Ten minutes! That is three times the time allowed. Please be as brief as possible. Not more than three minutes.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri):* Any how, Sir, we have just placed before the Council and before the present Diwan our expectations during his days. Ten months rolled by and we came to the Budget Session of 1119. It fell to the lot of poor me to say that unless something is done as was expected by us we will be forced to resort to the only method that is available to us not that we wish it but we will not hesitate to do it. I got a very strong regard for the chair saying that that is not the method for asking for it and explained of an extension that the Hon'ble President as also the Diwan had been here for ten months. He had not been able to study the currents and under-currents of political life here. Very well, Sir, we were not completely satisfied and 12 months rolled by, and we came to the last Budget Session. In the interim period there was a motion of the Ex-Deputy President of this House Mr. T. P. Poulse, that a Committee may be appointed to prepare a scheme of further advancement on the constitutional lines because of the previous commitments. The Government opposed it on the ground that it is not absolutely necessary, of course, we waited 12+10, 22 months. Our illustrious Diwan had made not a word in his Budget speech and I was with care pulled down and unfortunately nothing caused. I am not complaining. The Diwan I may say had sufficient time to guage the situation and to make appropriate recommendations with a benevolent Highness who will be ever prepared to go fully to the advice tendered by such an eminent Councillor of His and on a most auspicious occasion. I began yesterday by saying that every advance step sychronises with some important event in the life of the then Rules. Now comes a unique occasion, no ruler had celebrated his 80th Birthday while on the gadi, that unique occasion has come. Will that occasion be called unique by a pronouncement that full responsible Government is given to the people of Cochin State who by culture, by loyalty, by the

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work that they have turned out in the Council in co-operation with the Minister though defective because of the diarchical system. I am sure Sir, with your advice, with the 22 months study of the political life of the State and the insistant and incesent demands made and never resorting to anything unconstitutional. We will get an agreeable surprise. Praying for that I resume my seat.

*മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. എസ്സ്. പണിക്കർ: മിസ്റ്റർ പ്രസിഡണ്ട് സാർ, ഉത്തരവാദഭരണത്തെപ്പറ്റിയുള്ള പ്രസംഗം വളരെ അധികം ഇവിടെ നടന്നുകഴിഞ്ഞുവെങ്കിലും ചുരുക്കമായി ഒന്നരണ്ടു വാക്കു പറഞ്ഞുകളയാമെന്നു വിചാരിക്കുന്നു. സ്ഥാനത്യാഗംചെയ്ത മഹാരാജാവിന്റെകാലത്തു ഈ നിയമസഭ അനുവദിച്ചുതന്നു. മദ്രാസിൽ തീപ്പെട്ട മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സുകൊണ്ടു അതു നടപ്പിൽ വരുത്തി. ആദ്യം ചോദ്യമയക്കുന്നവക്കുമാത്രമെ സപ്ലിമെന്ററിയായി ചോദ്യങ്ങൾ ചോദിക്കുന്നതിനുള്ള അധികാരമുണ്ടായിരുന്നുള്ളു. ആ സമ്പ്രദായം എല്ലാവക്കും ചോദ്യങ്ങൾ ചോദിക്കുവാനുള്ള അവകാശം കൊടുത്തു. വോട്ടവകാശമായോഗൃത ഫ ക. നികുതിയായിരുന്നു. ഇതു മാറി ഓ ക. നികുതിയുള്ളവക്ക് വോട്ടവകാശം കൊടുത്തു. മദ്രാസിൽ തീപ്പെട്ട തിരുമനസ്സിലെ കാലത്തു ഇങ്ങിനെയുള്ള പല പരിഷ്കാരങ്ങളും വരുത്തി. അതിനുശേഷം ചൊവ്വര തീപ്പെട്ട മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സുകൊണ്ടു രാജ്യഭാരം ചെയ്തു. തിരുമനസ്സിലെ കാലത്തു ഒരു പൈപോലും നികുതികൊടുക്കുന്നവക്കു വോട്ടവകാശം കൊടുത്തു. തിരുമനസ്സിലെ കാലത്താണ് ഒരു മന്ത്രിയെ തന്നതു. ഇപ്പോൾ ജനങ്ങൾ രാഷ്ട്രീയമായി പരിതപ്രയാണം ചെയ്യുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്നുവെന്ന ബോദ്ധ്യം ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനുതന്നെ നല്ലവണ്ണം ഉണ്ടായിട്ടുണ്ടു. ചൊവ്വര തീപ്പെട്ട മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സുകൊണ്ടു തീപ്പെട്ടതിന്റെ ഒരു അനുശോചനപ്രമേയം ഈ നിയമ സഭയിൽ ഫ ഫ ഫസ്റ്റ കക്കടകമാസം ഫസ്റ്റംസ്റ്റെ അവതരിപ്പിച്ചു. അന്നത്തെ മിനിസ്റ്ററായിരുന്ന ഡാക്ടർ എ. ആർ. മേനോൻ ചെയ്ത പ്രസംഗത്തിന്റെ ഒരുഭാഗം ഞാനിവിടെ വായിക്കാം. "It is an open secret that it was the intention of His Highness to respond to the wishes of this Council, expressed by means of a resolution requesting to broaden and popularise the administration, to extend the powers of the representatives of the people and it would have been given effect to by appointing another Minister, had the Maharaja been spared to us. It was the intention, as I said, and I speak with inner knowledge, it was the intention of His Highness, to create one more Minister and constitute a Committee consisting of the Diwan and two Ministers who shall more or less consider and decide the various main heads of the budget, before the budget is presented to this House, thereby conceding in a partial measure the fundamental principle of controlling the public purse by the representatives of the people. Man proposes, God disposes; and the late Maharaja was not spared to enable him to realise this ambition." മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സുമായിട്ട് ഏറ്റവും അടുത്ത പെരുമാറിയിരുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു, അന്നത്തെ ഗ്രാമോദ്ധാരണമന്ത്രി ഡാക്ടർ എ. ആർ. മേനോൻ അവർകൾക്കു മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സുമായി ഉണ്ടായിട്ടുള്ള സമ്പർക്കംകൊണ്ടു അടുത്തൊരു മന്ത്രിക്കൂടി വരുവാൻപോകുന്നതായി അദ്ദേഹത്തിനു അറിയുവാൻ സാധിച്ചിരുന്നു. അതുമേൽ രാഷ്ട്രീയമായി അഡ്വാൻസ്സ് ചെയ്യിരുന്ന ഒരവസരമായിരുന്ന അതു. അതിനുശേഷം ഒരു മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സുവന്നു തീപ്പെട്ടുപോയി. ഇപ്പോൾ വേറെ ഒരു മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സുകൊണ്ടു നാടുവാണരുളുന്നു. തിരുമനസ്സിലെ കാലത്തെങ്കിലും പരിപൂർണ്ണ ഉത്തരവാദിതഭരണം അനുവദിച്ചു കിട്ടണമെന്ന ഏറ്റവും മിതമായ ഒരപേക്ഷമാത്രമാണ് ഇവിടെ കൊണ്ടുവന്നിട്ടുള്ളതു. തന്നില്ലെങ്കിൽ വാങ്ങിക്കുമെന്ന ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ഉപ്പൂണിത്തുറ മെമ്പറുടെ വെല്ലുവിളിയല്ല ഞാൻ പറയുന്നതു. ലോകത്തിൽ ഉത്തരവാദ ഭരണപരമായി പല മാറ്റങ്ങളും വന്നുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്നു. ആളുകളുടെ ഭാവം മാറിയിട്ടുണ്ടു. ഗവമ്മെൻറു കണ്ണുതുറന്നു വേണ്ടപോലെ പ്രവൃത്തിച്ചില്ലെങ്കിൽ രാജ്യത്തു സമാധാനമുണ്ടാകാതിരിക്കുവാൻ ഇതൊരു സംഗതിയായിരിക്കുമെന്നു ഗവമ്മെൻറു സൂക്ഷിക്കണം. ജനങ്ങൾ ഉൽബുദ്ധരായി തീർന്നിരിക്കുന്നു. രാഷ്ട്രീയമായി ഇവിടത്തെ ജനങ്ങൾ മുമ്പോട്ടു പോയിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നുള്ള സംഗതി ഗവമ്മെൻറു ധരിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നു ഇതേവരെ ഗവമ്മെൻറുചെയ്തിട്ടുള്ള ഓരോ സംഗതിയും വെളിപ്പെടുത്തുന്നുണ്ടു. ഫസ്റ്റാം നൂറ്റാണ്ടിൽ നെപ്പോളിയന്റെകാലത്തുണ്ടായ ഒരു പരിഷ്കാരമാണ് ഞങ്ങൾ ആവശ്യപ്പെടുന്നതു. ഈ ഇരുപതാം നൂറ്റാണ്ടു കഴിയാറായിട്ടും പരിഷ്കാരത്തിലും സംസ്കാരത്തിലും ഏറ്റവും മുന്നോട്ടുപോയിരിക്കുന്ന കൊച്ചിക്കാർക്ക് ആ പരിഷ്കാരം ഉണ്ടായിട്ടില്ലെന്നുള്ളതു ഏറ്റവും അപമാനകരമാണ്. ഭാരതത്തിനു ഏറ്റവും മാതൃകയായി തീർന്നിട്ടുള്ള കൊച്ചിയെ, ദക്ഷി

*Speech not corrected by the hon'ble member.

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ണോന്ത്യയിലെ സൌന്ദര്യ്യ റാണിയായിതീന്നിട്ടുള്ള കൊച്ചിയെ ഇനിയും രാഷ്ട്രീയമായി മു
ന്നോട്ട കൊണ്ടുപോകുവാൻ ഗവമ്മെൻറിന്ന സാധിച്ചിട്ടില്ലെന്നുള്ളതു" ഗവമ്മെൻറിന്ന തീ
ത്താൽ തീരാത്ത ഒരു കളങ്കമാണു".

പ്രജാമണ്ഡലം കക്ഷിയുടെ പ്രചരണപ്രസംഗമല്ല ഞാൻ ചെയ്യുന്നതു". നാഷണലി
സ്റ്റ" പാർട്ടിയുടെ പ്രചരണമല്ല ഞാൻ പറയുന്നതു". ഞാൻ പൊതു ജനങ്ങളുടെ അഭിപ്രാ
യമാണു" പറയുന്നതു". പ്രജാമണ്ഡലംകക്ഷി ഗവമ്മെൻറിനെ ഓമ്മപ്പെടുത്തുന്ന എന്ന
പറഞ്ഞു. ഓമ്മിപ്പിക്കേണ്ടതു അവരുടെ കക്ഷിയിൽനിന്ന കൊമുചാടി പോകുന്ന
വരെയാണു". ഒരു കക്ഷിയിൽനിന്ന രാജിവെച്ചുപോകുന്ന മെമ്പർ നിയമസഭയിലെ മെ
മ്പർ സ്ഥാനവുംകൂടി രാജിവെച്ചു" പഴക്കം ഉണ്ടാക്കി കൊടുക്കേണ്ട ചുമതലയുള്ള ഉൽബുദ്ധ
രായ പ്രമുഖാംഗങ്ങളും അതു കാണിച്ചു കൊടുക്കാതെ ഉത്തരവാദിതഭരണത്തിന്ന ആവശ്യ
പ്പെടുന്നതു എന്തിനാണെന്ന ഒരുപക്ഷെ ഗവമ്മെൻറ ചോദിച്ചേക്കാം. അതു ചില കര
ങ്ങന്മാർ മരംമാറി ചാടുന്നതുപോലെ ചാടിക്കൊണ്ടിരിക്കും. അതു ഇതിലേക്ക ബാധകമി
ല്ല. അതൊന്നും ഈ കാര്യത്തിൽ നോക്കാതെ മറവുള്ള കാര്യങ്ങളെ പരിഗണിച്ചു" ഉത്തര
വാദിതഭരണം ഉടനെ തരണമെന്ന ഗവമ്മെൻറിനെ ഉൽബോധിപ്പിക്കുകയും പ്രജാമണ്ഡ
ലത്തിൻെറ ഉപദേശം ക്രൂരതെ ഞങ്ങൾക്കുവേണ്ട കാര്യങ്ങൾ ഞങ്ങൾ നോക്കികൊള്ളാമെ
ന്ന അവരെ മനസ്സിലാക്കുകയും ചെയ്തുകൊണ്ട ഞാൻ എൻെറ പ്രസംഗം അവസാനിപ്പിച്ചു
കൊള്ളുന്നു.

***Mr. L. M. Pylee** *(Latin Christians-Ernakulam):* Mr. President, Sir, on the 17th June 1938 there occurred a unique event not only in the history of Cochin State but I should state in the history of Indian States in India. On that day the Cochin Constitution Act was promulgated by His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin implementing His gracious announcement that was made on the 4th of April that year the day of His Highness' birthday. That event existed in the hearts of His Highness' subjects the hope that a new epoch had dawn upon the State and very happily Sir, statesmen not only in Cochin but all over India acclaimed the step that was then taken as an epoch-making reform and more than one statesman who visited this place on that memorable occasion acclaimed it as a step that has seen the seeds of democracy. Sir, to my humble self when I was present on that epoch-making event it seemed to me that dawn had appeared but very soon disillutionment came and it was that that dawn never progressed, never developed into day, into a full-fledged day light. What has subsequently happened is a matter which is well-known to the public of Cochin. The very following year 1939 on the birthday of the same Highness when a public address was presented on behalf of the people of Cochin by the then Hon'bte Minister for Rural Development. We the people of Cochin clearly and unmistakable terms placed at the feet of His Highness our aspirations and our hopes with the reform that were inaugarated during the past year were only the bear beginning of the fulfilment of which we hope to see in the very near future. These things have happened in 1938 and 1939 and we are here in 1945 and even in that span of life what things have taken place? Well the whole world knows. Well, Sir, where we stand? In this important matter, a matter vitally affects the people of the State, a matter that concerns the democratic advance of the people of the State, we are still standing on that memmorable day of 17th June 1938 and I dare say that we are not standing on the 27th or 28th of November 1945. We are where we were on that day and all indications seemed to me at least indications, I believe seemed to me entirely on a stand still. Sir, after that year 1939 almost at every meeting of this Legislative Council, incessently and frequently the demand was put forward by the Members of this House on behalf of the people of Cochin and every time, I am sorry to say, that this have been refused. Minimum excuses have been given from the Government and I had the regret to say that tragical instances had at last developed into positive opposition when I moved a resolution of the kind at the end of the last Council. Government said—"We agree with you in principle, it is only a matter of time; other conditions are unfavourable to you". And the Government that remained neutral until then, on that occasion Government have been stunned and I regret to say that the reactionary attitude developed from neutrality into open hostility voting down a legitimate demand that was made by the Members of the Council. This is all past history. I am not taking it up here for the purpose of acting bitter feeling or any animosity. But what I mean to say is that the time is up that these avasive replies which do not hold water in the eyes of the public of Cochin should no more be resorted to. The excuses given that the time is not come, I ask the Government when is the

*Speech not corrected by the Hon'ble Member.

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time going to come? How long are we to wait? How long are you going on trying to mock us by saying that we are not fit to handle our own destinies. Luckily the war intervened but even the war is over and the atomic bomb is looming large. Even then what excuses can be given. Perhaps the constituent assembly is to meet in British India and the constitutional reforms are going to take place. Have we got those problems which confront the Statesmen in British India. There is no such complexity as in British India. And the excuses that things in British India are being done, that reforms are even on the anvil, that a constitution is being made in British India, I submit will not hold good in the conditions of our State.

These are excuses that cannot hold water. I hope the Government of His Highness, our benevolent Ruler, will not resort to these excuses hereafter. Sir, one point I should like to bring to the notice of this House is that soon after the inaguration of the new constitution that was in 1938, the then Diwan, who was mainly responsible for the creation of the constitution on his return from Europe, from Geneva where he had been on an international matter in one of his speeches made in Madras—I happen to preserve it—there he gave the main reason to advise His Highness the Maharaja to grant this constitutional reform. Well Sir, Sir Shanmugham Chetty said—it was reported in the Hindu of November 21, 1938— "Let me frankly say that one of the consideration that weighed with me to advise His Highness to take this step was to protect the interest of the Maharaja and the Ruling Family". He continued.—"I realise that the greatest asset which existed in Indian State is the loyalty of the people to the Throne. (Hear, hear). Yes, that sentiment which we heartily endorse and re-echo from the bottom of our hearts. Once you let loose that spirit of loyalty to the Ruler and the Ruling Family, you create elements which will endanger the stability of the Ruler and the Ruling Family itself. It was therefore said in the interests of His Highness the Maharaja and the Ruling Family and in the interests of His subjects that I advised His Highness to associate His people effectively in the administration of the State. If His Highness wished to retain the affection of the people and to retain the prestige of the people, He should associate His people affectively in the administration of the State". These words were not said by an agitator, these words were said by the Diwan of Cochin who was mainly responsible for the reforms. Well, by this my, making mention here of these speeches do not misunderstanding me do not think I am in any way disloyal to His Highness. My humble self is one of the most loyal subjects of His Highness and I would be extremely sorry to see that if anything that was said by that Diwan should materialise should happen. Any way there was the statement of the Diwan and certainly all the people of Cochin are loyal, loyal to the very core, loyal from the bottom of their hearts, loyal sincerely and attached loyally. But I wish there is the duty on the part of the Advisor to His Highness to see that that loyalty is safeguarded that that loyalty is based upon the solid strong foundations of the affection to his people. Well, if the people of Cochin, their accredited representatives, Sir, from 1938 onwards have made this humble and legitimate demand. Constitutionaly loyal if they made the demand and if that is going to be yield still more. Well we do not know from how many sides, at least from certain sides of this House came certain statements that make us think that may make peaceful peace loving citizens like us in the State think that certainly the time has come to satisfy the aspirations of the people and the right step, the long overdue pending step must be now taken. Sir I have not much to add. But in the resolution that I have tabled there is one expression namely the resolution that I have tabled is "this Council recommends to the Government of His Highness the Maharaja to introduce full responsible Government in the State without further delay, with such reservation as may be necessary to discharge the obligations to the Paramount Power". It has been the custom when a demand, when a request, is made like this always to put forward by the Statesman in some of the Indian States that the great blocking power is the Paramount Power and the Treaties and Sannads. Sir, it was only the other day such an eminent scholar and politician as Professor Laski stated that they were ever rating and exaggerating the importance of Treaties and Sannads. We still remember the statement made by the Earl of Winterton who said in the British Parliament that Treaties and Sannads are not going to stand in the way of Constitutional reforms in the Indian States. We have heard from responsible British Statesmen that these things are not going to and should not block constitutional reforms in Indian States. Well yet we find that this expediency, this method of Treaties and Sannads being used. I ask how many treaties have we thrown to the winds. How many treaties have been turned down. Even the accredited Treaty, the Treaty of Versailles, what was its fate? What has become of it? If such a treaty of international importance is interned and sometimes fated to collapse, what about the Treaties and Sannads here? Are they imutable

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unchangeable instruments that they cannot change when the flood of democracy, when democracy is triumphant to march, I ask can we hold up these antiquated instruments and documents like Treaties and Sannads? Well, unfortunately, Sir, if anybody thinks that Treaties must be honoured by all means do. If anybody thinks that Treaties are so sacred so inviolable, sacrosanct, under the circumstances in which they were made if anybody thinks that these antiquated Treaties and Sannads should still continue and should not be revised, every treaty is being revised, only our treaties cannot be revised, well preserve them by all means. But still what is left, the residue that is left, why not transfer it to the people. You may construct a machinery by the obligations with all the Paramount Power. Please do it. But let that be not made a reason for blocking the way to progress, blocking the aspirations of the people and becoming an obstacle in the way of progress of our State. Sir, this all that I have to say. I have said enough and more on former occasions. We have heard Hon'ble Members like Rao Sahib K. Ayyappan, Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan and several Members of this House, all have been hammering this question. Our throats have become sore and still the boon is not granted and at least in the near future on the auspicious occasion that is before us shall we be too optimistic if we expect that however that may be let this cry of the people be heard and let this long aspiration of the people at last to fulfil at this juncture.

*Miss Annie Joseph *(Trichur-Women):* Sir, on an all-important question of this type there is no justification why the women section of this House should remain mum. Hence I stand.

Reports and speeches very clearly show that this section of the House has been repeatedly requesting for full responsible Government for the last so many years. But that part of the House refused to realise the real significance and spirit of our very loyal and constitutional request Till now you have been following us by our insipid ways and soulless minds. But a wooden Government as an esteemed friend of mine put it the other day and that too when we have got so many undetected incapables on the treasury benches we cannot expect anything better and we cannot hope anything good. We have too under these circumstances to make them do things. We request for something for which we have a right to ask and I in my humble opinion think that you have no reason to refuse. So we as loyal subjects oi Cochin State and since we have been asking repeatedly for these so many years to give we have come again to ask for the same and I also add my contribution to it. Our two leaders of the two parties have very eloquently, clearly and beautifully talked out and placed the whole matter before this House and for us too I just want to tell this House that we enbloc mean to follow that.

*Mrs. T. Francis *(Women's-Ernakulam):* Sir, I have great pleasure to support this resolution. The need for full responsible Government in Cochin State was well discussed by very many Members. The learned Member for Vadakkancheri gave the House a brief History of the Reform. This History was completed by the Hon'ble member for Latin X'ians Ernakulam, and others. When the people really felt hungry and asked our father for a full loaf we received a crumb and asked us to wait. We waited and when we saw nothing coming we are wanting for the full loaf. It is now full 8 years we again and again request our Gracious Highness to grant us the full loaf, the full responsible Government. It is the just demand that the country needs. The people of Cochin State feels that they cannot enjoy real peace and prosperity until they had secured a Government responsible for the people and until the total representatives of the people had secured power and authority to undertake their own future. The people of Cochin are fit for running responsible Government. There will be no danger from the people if responsible Government is granted to them. On the other hand delay is dangerous. History of the world shows wherever the rulers delayed to grant the just demands of the people the consequence was trouble. It is a fact compared with several other States we have been given certain liberties. But not full. Recently the States like the Reva and a few more have gone a head and restored into the hands of their subjects the power to govern themselves.

When India as a nation is striving for full freedom which freedom the nation is sure to achieve, the people of Cochin State cannot afford to be under slavery while India enjoyed full freedom. Cochin cannot forget the fact, that this State is not part and parcel of India. The barriers between Indian States and British India were not created originally. No Barrier could stop the air of freedom rushing into the States. The Nationalist party like any other freedom loving party of the State aimed at securing full freedom and keeping in line with British India in the advancement of people towards freedom. History of Cochin shows the Rulers of the State

*Speech not corrected by the Hon'ble Member.

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were always striving their best to fulfil their duty towards their Subjects. The Subjects in turn enjoyed full confidence in their Rulers. Now as the time is full ripe we request that our just right may be granted to us without further delay. A golden opportunity is at hand and let us feel that we are going to receive from our Gracious Maharaja our just right the full responsible Government. Sir George Boag the experienced able Prime Minister to His Highness the Maharaja will be able to hasten this all important matter by his valuable suggestions to our Gracious Ruler the Maharaja of Cochin.

Sir, let me also remind you that there is a great awakening amongst the women of Cochin. They are eagerly waiting for this just right.

With these few words I remain.

Rama Varmha Tampuran, M.B.E. *(Secretary to Government):* This subject came up for detailed dicussion at the last March meeting of the late Legislative Session and I then on behalf of the Government explained at great length that the Government have no difference of opinion with the otherside of the House so far as the ultimate object of the Constitution Act and its fulfilment is concerned. I explained then in great detail the difficulties that not only this side of the House but the other side of the House has also been feeling of late in working the transition stage, between what we have been accustomed to in the matter of public administration in the State in the last 100 years and what we aspire to, and wish for hereafter. I explained then in great detail the difficulties that not only this side of the House but the other side of the House also have been progressively feeling on this subject and besides that I could quote the various wordings of the different resolutions on this subject. The very fact that the resolutions were intentionally and deliberately worded to give emphasis to different aspects of this problem that very fact showed that there were doubts and hesitations as to what should be our line of action hereafter. I thought there is not difference as to the necessity and as to the ultimate usefulness of introducing full responsible Government in the State. But there were real difference of opinion both even in that side of the House as to the methods by which that can be achieved. That was the fact and that is even now a fact. I would read Sir, with your kind permission, the exact text of the resolution. It prefixes two conditions to the grant of full responsible Government. It emphasises that it should be preceded by grant of adult franchise and 2, it should provide adequate protection for minorities. The question of franchise is really paramount and a great deal of what responsible Government in a State like ours will he depends to a very large extent as to what our franchise is. There is no denying the fact and it is also true how ultimately the Scheme of Responsible Government will be worked, will depend also on the second condition imposed in the resolution namely the necessary protection for minorities. These two conditions intentionally and deliberately I am sure imposed on the fulfilment aimed at by the resolution, these two conditions are sufficient to show the difficulties in our way of carrying through this transition period.

Mr. K. S. Panicker *(Trichur-Ezhuvas):* What are the difficulties?

Rao Sahib K. Ayyappan *(Ezhuvas-Kanayannur):* We will come to a settlement.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri):* Leave it to us.

Rama Varmha Tampuran, M.B.E. *(Secretary to Government):* It is easy to leave it to us. But the Government as constituted, I suppose, have a responsibility of theirs to consider matters like this. They cannot shirk their responsibility and they have to consider what should be the best means of carrying out the end the House has in view. And it is very interesting to read a short extract from the speech of the Hon'ble President who presided the meeting in 1116 when this topics was introduced by Mr. T. K. Nayar, he said, "Mr. T. K. Nayar will not expect me here and now to state when exactly I proposed to advise to His Highness to transfer more and more subjects to popular Ministers. I think they can leave it to me to be be judge of the suitable time when such an advice should be tendered to His Highness."

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri):* It was 5 years ago.

Rama Varmha Tampuran, M.B.E. *(Secretary to Government):* Quite true. Quite true. But that statement then was not satisfied. There is no use of taking such a difficult attitude towards the Government in a matter like this. Even an ordinary important Legislative measure takes a couple of years to go through a Legislative Council like this. Deliberately in all bodies like this checks and counter checks are provided. Definite stages are statutorily provided so that important measures may not be hastily rushed through. Where is the difficulty, to have all the readings on the very first day provided there is a clear or an abundant majority for

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that. It is really a very necessary caution, it is a measure of caution that is provided for in all deliberative bodies of this kind. When we deal with an all important matter like this which is to affect the fate and destinies of all classes of His Highness' subjects directly and indirectly. When we are doing that we should have time to consider. Last time you brought a similar resolution before this House, it was only in March barely six months have passed and by that time you want the Government to give a more definite assurance. It is really unfair. The list which the Hon'ble Member who just now interrupted both yesterday and this morning shows with what great care the Government was responsive to the request.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri)*: But now.....

Rama Varmha Tampuran, M. B. E. *(Secretary to Government)*: The very long list of the great concession that the Government have made in constitutional matters prove that. That shows that the Government are actually alive to urgency of the problem. But if they want any positive answer immediately to introduce full responsible Government it is not their fault, it is not the fault of any body, it is in the logic of circumstances and it is in the logic of events which we have to accept.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri)*: We will be satisfied with an announcement.

Rama Varmha Tampuran, M. B. E. *(Secretary to Government)*: We are appointing a franchise committee very soon and the question of extending the franchise still further will be a matter for serious consideration for them. And the great changes that are happening in British India will also be of help and guidance. Even with statutory regulations there regarding provisions for provincial utonomy we are in, with what great difficulties that British Politicians have been working, I mean handling this constitutional question those difficulties.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri)*: Absolutely nothing.

Rama Varmha Tampuran, M. B. E. *(Secretary to Government)*: .... Difficulties are not paper made. They are inherent in the body politic and unless solutions are found out to get over these difficulties there is no use of blaming the Government for not coming forward every few months with advance instalments of constitutional reforms. It was a very wise suggestion of the Member for Cochin-Kanayannur Ezhuvas; that it is high time that someone in this country made a serious scientific study of the possible ways of getting over these difficulties.

Rao Sahib. K. Ayyappan *(Ezhuvas-Kanayannur)*: My statement is used to some other purpose, Sir.

Rama Varmha Tampuran, M. B. E. *(Secretary to Government)*: That is a very useful suggestion. I do not believe also that the Hon'ble Member did not mean it in the sense in which I have put it. I mention these points only just to remind the House that the subject is not one that should be mechanically dealt with. It is fraught with great difficulties. And the House may rest assured that the Government are very keen and very much alive to the urgency of the problem and that there would be no delay because of an apathy on the part of the Government.

Mr. M. K. Varghese *(Cranganur)*: I press the motion.

Mr. President: I should like to say one word before this motion is put to the vote. As it stands it is obviously quite impossible for the Government to accept it, because of the one word "immediately". At the same time, although the Government are compelled by the manner in which the resolution has been drafted, to oppose it, I should like to say on behalf of the Government that their opposition to this resolution does not mean that they are opposed to any advance towards responsible Government. It is not perhaps altogether suitable for me, who, you are aware, am a bird of passage here, to express an opinion on this matter. It is a matter for those who are permanent residents of the State, permanent subjects of His Highness. But I should like to say on my own behalf that it would give me a very great measure of satisfaction if before I leave His Highness' service it were possible for me to see that some further measure of responsible Government, introduced here. With these words I must make it clear that the Government must oppose this resolution.

Mr. M. K. Varghese *(Cranganur)*: Sir, I withdraw the resolution.

Leave it to withdraw was not granted. Hence the resolution was put and carried.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri)*: Sir, I request that it may be noted that the resolution was carried unanimously.

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Mr. President: No. Sir.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakaancheri)*: Then a poll, Sir.

Ayes

1. Mrs. T. Francis
2. Miss. Annie Joseph
3. Mr. R. S. Thevanna Gounder
4. Mr. K. Natarajan Chettiar
5. Mr. P. Narayana Menon
6. Mr. P. Govinda Menon
7. Mr. P. Achuta Menon
8. Mr. P. T. Jacob
9. Mr. V. R. Krishnan Ezhuthassan
10. Mr. M. I. Paul
11. Mr. P. Sankara Menon
12. Mr. M. K. Raja.
13. Mr. P. K. Paul
14. Mr. Dhara Singh
15. Mr. P. Mani
16. Mr. C. N. Ittiravi Nambudiri
17. Mr. A. Eachara Menon
18. Rao Sahib K. Ayyappan
19. Mr. K. Balakrishna Menon
20. Mr. L. M. Pylee
21. Mr. K. S. Panicker
22. Mr. K. T. Achyutan
24. Mr. P. M. Mayankutty
25. Mr. Jos. K. Verghese
26. Mr. P. A. Muhamed Ashroff.
27. Mr. T. K. L. Kunjuvareed
28. Mr. C. J. Cherayath
29. Mr. K. I. Velayudhan
30. Mr. P. V. Sebastin
31. Mr. M. O. Thomakutty
32. Mr. Paramel Ipe Ipe
33. Mr. M. K. Varghese
34. Mr. K. K. Kannan
35. Mr. K. Kochukuttan
36. Mr. P. K. Dewer
37. Mr. S. S. Koder
38. Dr. S. S. Rao
39. Mr. P. E. Warne
40. Mr. S. P. Louis
41. Mr. K. A. Raghavan
42. Mr. Parambi Lonappen

Noes

1. Mr. P. V. Raphael
2. Mr. V. K. Aravindaksha Menon
3. Rao Sahib I. N. Menon
4. Mr. A. Madhava Prabhu
5. Rama Varmha Tampuran
6. Mr. M. Sivarama Menon
7. Mr. S. Venkiteswaran
8. Mr. C. J. Mathew
9. Mr. B. V. K. Menon
10. Rao Sahib M. M. Paul

42 for and 10 against.

The House rose for lunch at 1-30 p.m. and re-assembled at 2-30 p.m. with the Panel Chairman, Mr. Puthur Achutha Menon, in the Chair.

RESOLUTION No. 5

Lease of purambokes to the Depressed Class people

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. കെ. കണ്ണൻ: സർ, "ഭക്ഷ്യാല്പാദനപരിപാടിയുടെ കാലാവധിക്കുശേഷം പുറമ്പോക്ക ഭൂമികൾ പതിച്ചുകൊടുക്കുന്നതിൽ അധഃകൃതക്ക മുൻഗണന നൽകണമെന്ന് ഈ കൌൺസിൽ ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ഗവണ്മെണ്ടിനോട ശുപാർശചെയ്യുന്നു" ഇതാണ് എന്റെ പ്രമേയം. ഞാൻ ഈ റസലൂഷൻ ഇവിടെ അവതരിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിന്റെ ഉദ്ദേശം അധഃകൃതക്ക ജീവിക്കുവാൻ സ്വതന്ത്രമായ ഒരു കഴിവുണ്ടാക്കുന്നതിനുവേണ്ടിയാണ്. വാസ്തവത്തിൽ ഈ നാട്ടിലെ സർവ്വവിധസമ്പത്സമൃദ്ധിക്കും കാരണഭൂതന്മാരായിട്ടുള്ള അധഃകൃതർ ജീവിതത്തിന്റെ അടിത്തട്ടിൽ നരകയാതന അനുഭവിക്കുന്നവരാണെന്നു പറയാതെ ഗത്യന്തരമില്ല. അവരുടെ ഈ ദയനീയമായ പരിതഃസ്ഥിതിക്കു ഒരു പരിഹാരമുണ്ടാക്കേണ്ടതു രാജ്യത്തിന്റെ പുരോഗതിയെ കാംക്ഷിക്കുന്ന ഏതൊരാളുടേയും കർത്തവ്യം മാത്രമാണ്. ഇന്നത്തെ അവരുടെ ദയനീയസ്ഥിതിയെക്കുറിച്ചു പ്രസ്താവിക്കുകയാണെങ്കിൽ പലവിധത്തിലുള്ള ദുരിതങ്ങളും അവക്കു ഇന്നു അനുഭവപ്പെട്ടുകൊണ്ടാണിരിക്കുന്നതു. ഇപ്പോൾ അധഃകൃതർ മാത്രം ഈ നിയമസഭയിലുള്ള എല്ലാ ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മെമ്പർമാക്കും ഗവണ്മെണ്ടിനും അറിയാവുന്നതായ ഒരു കാര്യമാണ്. പലസ്ഥലങ്ങളിലും പുലയരെന്നതറെയല്ല, അധഃകൃതരിൽപെട്ട പലരും ചില മുതലാളിമാരുടെ ഭീഷണികൾക്കും പ്രലോഭനങ്ങൾക്കും വശംവദരായിട്ടാണിരിക്കുന്നതു. ചിലസ്ഥലങ്ങളിലുള്ള അധഃകൃതരെ കുടിയിറക്കിയും, വേറെ ചിലേടത്തു പുര തീവെച്ചു നശിപ്പിച്ചും മറ്റുമുള്ള ഭയങ്കരങ്ങളായ മർദ്ദനങ്ങൾ കൊച്ചിരാജ്യത്തിന്റെ

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